1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

X539 There I could do nothing.
It was my cigarette smoke
Circling about.
It turned him (the rain god)
And set him facing me.

CEREMONIAL GESTURES

788 The Papago, when touching a sacred object, made the gesture of breathing in from it. It was also usual to pass it from head to foot over the body. Sometimes they touched special parts of the body with it: the forehead, the breast, the two shoulders, and the abdomen. A similar gesture was used in marking a child with white clay at the naming ceremony and when purifying a woman after puberty or childbirth.[8] It is so like the Catholic crossing that one wonders in reading the first accounts of the Spanish missionaries whether the many Indian converts were using a new Christian gesture or the pagan gesture which was traditional with them.

788 All Papago ceremonies were oriented, and in describing one the 822 informant always stooped and drew a diagram in the sand showing 823 where each participant was placed. East, the most sacred direction, was associated with the color white; north, the direction of evil, with black; west and south were variously associated with red, blue, and yellow. The circuit was counterclockwise, and the ceremonial number was four.

COSTUMES AND PARAPHERNALIA

292 The Papagos made little attempt to devise ceremonial costumes, for they did not have the materials for them. But they selected the dancers, male or female, for their long, glossy hair, which was worn loose. The exposed parts of their bodies were painted with patterns and colors, which differed for each ceremony. Only on the occasion of the prayer-stick festival was the rule of simplicity in dress abandoned. There the singers were masked and wore a sort of kilt, which seems to have resembled those used in the Pueblos; the masked Navitcu clowns wore feather headdresses.

[8] See Underhill, 1939, p. 157.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The men walked into the sea, throwing corn meal on the approaching waves, as they were bidden. To these desert people the waves had a peculiar horror, and the mere facing them was considered an act of bravery. Men who seem to make no great matter of battle or starvation have recounted to the writer with deep pride how they walked in up to their necks. They have heard but vaguely of swimming, from the Seri and the Yuma. To them the ocean is the edge of the world, fraught with power and death.

The Akchin men retained the prayer sticks in their hands as a protection. After they had faced the fourth wave, they went back to the leader. They gave him the prayer sticks to be used on another occasion and dusted off any corn meal that had remained on their hands into his pouch. Then they left, walking behind their horses. Any visions which the ocean might vouchsafe would appear on the journey home or during the subsequent purification.

Santa Rosa and the other villages of the western route traveled two days after viewing the ocean, since they must go along the coast some distance before reaching salt. The place they used, called Salty Badger, was a bed a quarter of a mile long and half a mile from the gulf. On reaching it, the neophytes dismounted and Akchin planted a prayer stick. Then the neophytes ran four times *around the salt bed, counterclockwise(1, 4, 5),*[10] *while the older* men galloped around on their horses.

Then they began to break up the lumps of salt and spread them to dry on sheets or mats. As each man picked up his first lump, he made the motion of passing it over his body, saying: "Give me power. Let me safely reach my home."(4) Some addressed the salt bed: "We mean no harm. We have only come to gather salt."(5)

While the salt was drying, the neophytes went into the sea. In some villages each man had his prayer stick and corn meal; in some the leader provided it. One, San Miguel, threw into the sea only scraps of red cloth.

Pisinimo ran to the top of the first sand dunes, whence the waves could be seen, and there strewed corn meal, saying: "Be favorable to me. Be smooth. Let me run and see what I shall see." (1) When they reached the water, Pisinimo again gave an invocation: "Be

[10] Cf. Haldeel, Lumholtz, 1900, p. 19.

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

touch the feathers himself, since they were not yet purified and therefore dangerous, but he pointed with a stick to show in what order they should be pulled and laid down.

The killer stretched the eagle out on the ground and stood on its wings. First, under the guardian's direction, he pulled out the down feathers, which had special value as offerings to the supernatural and would become his own perquisite. He first took the down from under the right wing, then from the left, then from under the tail, from the back, and from inside the legs. That from under the tail, which is particularly soft, he tied to a stick, in the manner of a prayer stick. This he stuck upright in the ground beside him during the period of his seclusion, while the rest of the down was placed in a buckskin bag to await purification.

The next feathers to be plucked were the two top wing feathers, one from the right wing and one from the left. It was these top feathers, and no others, which were used as shaman's divining plumes. They had a special name, *mâtcuita'k* (that which finds out). They were the perquisite of the guardian, who, if he were not a shaman himself, might keep them for trade at a high price. The plume from the right wing was laid down first, with its tip to the east, then that from the left, crossing it, with tip to the south. After them the other plumes were plucked alternately from the two wings and laid down in regular order, so that a cross was formed with wing tips pointing north, east, south, and west.[5] Above the wing feathers the tail feathers were laid, continuing the cross formation. The feathers were then covered with a mat or buckskin weighted with stone, and the killer took his place beside them for his sixteen days of purification. Until this period of quarantine was over, no one but the guardian must approach him and no one at all must touch the feathers, on pain of illness.

The details of purification differed in different localities, as they did with enemy slayers and salt pilgrims. Some villages considered this contact with the supernatural so much less important than the others that they made the retreat only four days.(5) Others, like Kaka, used a graduated form of retreat in four periods of four days each.

[5] The usual Papago circuit is counterclockwise. The informant could give no reason for the change in this case. [223]

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

tunities—bade him use four feathers instead of two. Then the feathers were first tied in pairs, and afterwards the pairs were fastened together.

The shaman's most precious possession was his crystal, which shed light "like your car lamps" on the seat of disease or the hiding place of an evil shaman. Generally, a shaman possessed not one, but the ceremonial number, four. According to legend, these flakes of quartz are the solidified saliva of I'itoi, who spat on the head of the first shaman so that saliva entered the man's heart. All shamans, supposedly, are able to keep their crystals in their hearts, and it is these which give their saliva its power if they blow it over a patient.

Theoretically, crystals were not obtained from outside, but grew within the shaman's body, "lots of them, like honey in a honeycomb." Their growth in the heart of a young girl has been mentioned, and the same informant recounted: "My brother was a shaman, but he had a bad wife who came to sleep with him while she was menstruating. That killed his crystals so that they rotted away, and another shaman, who looked into his heart, saw it like an empty honeycomb."(26)

However, the young shaman could easily find crystals by hunting over the rocky hills, where quartz fragments abound. Even this was done according to pattern.

> The eagle told me to go at sunset to a certain place and look for crystals. So I did, and in a little hollow I saw four of them lying, all together. I held out my hand, and they jumped into it. Then I held my hand before my mouth, and one by one they jumped down my throat.(16)

Asked to exhibit them, the informant objected: "I keep them in my heart. I never show them."

However, the writer succeeded in obtaining a set of crystals belonging to a defunct shaman, whose family feared their power. They were from one to two inches long, a quarter to half an inch thick and irregularly shaped. They were contained in a little fringed buckskin bag, dyed red and having a long string so that it could be worn around the neck.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

up one by one shouting the names and presenting them to the proper gift partners. Each stick recalled to him the name of a particular individual, a difficult form of mnemonics for Whites, but the Papago, trained in memorizing by rote, did not consider it as hard as abstract counting. Something like the same process may be observed today when an Indian, in trading at the store, points to an article, pays for it and gets the change before dealing with the next one.

The Papago word now used for *count* is kwint, obviously from the Spanish *cuentar*. But the writer, in studying a Spanish grammar of the Lower Pima,[1] was puzzled to find a Pima word which was translated count. After much conference with Papagos, it was decided that the word was *ha kiwikitat*, to whip them continually, and seemed to have been derived from the counting of strokes under the Spanish punishment system.

MEASURES

Dry measure was calculated by the basketful. The basket bowl, the winnowing basket and the carrying basket were roughly standard sizes and all had various decorative lines parallel to the rim by which fractions of their content could be measured. In measuring quantities for trade, however, both parties to the bargain used the same basket so they could be sure of equal measure.

For linear measure, parts of the body were used. Women, in making a basket, took as a unit the handbreatdh: the distance between the outstretched thumb and forefinger. Half a handbreadth was the length of the first finger and "less than a handbreadth" the distance between thumb and first finger. For more exactitude, the worker used the distances between various fingertips, with the hand outstretched.

Men measured the length of wood for a bow by the distance from the tip of the second finger to the breast bone, when the arm was stretched forward. The arrow should be as long as the space between the hands when pulling the bow string. Lengths of rope were measured by the distance between the fingertips when the arms were outspread or, for short ropes, the distance from elbow to wrist.

CEREMONIAL NUMBERS AND DIRECTIONS

The Papago ceremonial number is four and four is continually used whenever small amounts are thought of. Possibly, in former

[1] Grammar of the Pima or Nevome, a language of Sonora, from a manuscript of the XVIII Century. Edited by Buckingham Smith, 1862.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

[801] times, this was as far as they counted without the aid of sticks and
• 823 notches. Four directions are recognized, with ceremonial colors. East literally "under the sunrise" is always white, and west, "under the sunset", always black, possibly because a disagreeable wind comes from there. North is "the direction from which floods come," its color red or blue. South is "the direction where rubbish is piled" (in floods) but also "the direction of the ocean" and "the direction of suffering," since the Gulf of California, the goal of the arduous salt expedition lay that way. The color of the south is red or yellow.

Papagos have no words for left and right and never speak of the hands or of the directions in that way. Neither do they often use the ceremonial terms for the directions but point with the lips or the hand and use an adverb which means yonder far, yonder near yonder up (which always connotes east and the upward movement of the sun) yonder down, (which connotes west). But they are always conscious of the directions and all ceremonial groups are oriented so that a description of them involves a plan drawn in the sand. The circuit in dancing or passing the ceremonial cigarette is always counter clockwise. In at least one ceremony, the orator speaks first at the east, then north, then south and then, making three quarters of a circuit, comes back to the west.

TIME RECKONING

805 The Papago year begins in July with the ripening of the giant-cactus, the beginning of rainy season. There are no standard names for the months, but a number of descriptive terms can be used for each period between one "death of the moon" and the next. Since these describe well known natural phenomena, anyone can recognize a month by any of its appellations. The following are terms frequently used:

July	tcuuki(macaṭ)	rain (moon)
	haacainyi pa'k	giant cactus ripe
August	cópori ĭcapi'k	short planting
	kl'l tcuupiopi'k	big rain
Sept	wácai kákita'k	dry grass
Oct	ari tcutcukiopi'k	little rain
	wi'khanyi'k	frost
Nov	s'kĭik s'ihpitci'k	pleasant cold (time for games and races)
Dec	kl'l s'ihpitci'k	big cold (month for wiikita)
Jan	kihuta'ko	animals thin
Feb	uuwarik	smelling (deer mating, strong smell)
	komaki macaṭ	gray moon

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

and down by the wash there were men bending over the fields where the corn and beans and squash were growing.

In the furrow
At the corner
The corn is growing green
Growing green.

I used to hear those songs coming from the houses, because we were so happy in summer time. We had rain. Every morning the sky was bright and every afternoon the little white cloud stood over the mountains to the east. Everywhere by the washes you saw the centipedes that are a sign of rain. We call them a blessing, those centipedes. There were so many that you could shake your head and, pff! one would fall out of your hair. Now there are no more. That fine weather is gone.

We women did not have to fetch water. We could sit in the house and make baskets. Or else we could go off over the land to pick the fine fresh green things. At sunset all the village was full of laughing people, eating around their home fires.

Then we heard the crier call: "Come hither! Bring your cigarettes. We will smoke and talk of what we shall do!"

That call was for the men, not for the women. They got up from the fires and we saw them passing in the starlight against the gray desert that looks almost white on summer nights. I know what my father used to say to them in that meeting, for he has often told me how they spoke after the cigarette went round.

"Well! will you be ready? Take care, for often I have warned you. You must make arrows and your bow you must have in readiness, for when the enemy will arrive, you do not know. At night he may come; at night or in the morning or when the sun stands anywhere in the sky. Then you will arise, your bow you will snatch and therewith will fight the enemy.

"Close by you must keep your bow, your quiver, your hardwood arrows, and your reed arrows with the stone tip. Early in the morning must you have your food that you may be able to fight the enemy. Your girls very early must cook and must give food to the youths that they may be strong to fight no matter where the sun stands in the sky. Your girls shall pour water and shall search for wood and shall cook food. Early in the morning your girls shall run that when the enemy shall come, they can run swiftly and can save their lives.

"This I feel and this I say. Listen and my words shall enter your ears and enter your heads."

6: Densmore E-5 (1920) 1929NU28 Papago NU28

484 317 of "medicine power" from the ocean. The commercial expeditions were made by many people and while the journey was long and hard it was not surrounded by the regulations which made the latter type of expedition a severe test of a man's physical endurance. The [823] ocean was regarded with reverence and a man must undergo a severe ordeal in order to come into communication with it and to receive power from it. However, his journey and that of the seeker for salt had a few points in common, both being required to run four times around the bed of salt (*anta*) and to remain in isolation four days after their return, observing the usual customs of a fasting period.

484 317 439 [492] The Papago used salt in the widespread commerce of the tribe. It was an article of barter with the Pima on the north and was also sold in Mexico, where the Sonora Mining Co. bought about 20,000 pounds annually from these Indians.[35] In 1920 an old couple was still passing through Sells, Ariz., every year with a supply of salt which was obtained from the salt deposits and carried on the backs of their burros. The salt deposit was said to be about 2 miles from the Gulf of California and about 130 miles from the southern part of the Papago reservation. Those who went for salt made their camp a little distance from the salt bed and after gathering the salt they ran to the sea and thence to their camp, but they did not go to Hiamorli (or Hiamowitcu), which was the destination of those who sought "medicine power."

484 317 An expedition to secure salt for commercial purposes had its peculiar customs. Mattias Hendricks went with his father on such a trip, the party including one man beside his father. Mattias was then a little boy, but old enough to get the horses in the morning. Those who went for salt usually took two or three pack burros or horses on which to bring back the salt. They made their camp at a distance from the salt bed and when they went to gather the salt they were required to run four times around the salt bed without stopping. The circumference of the salt bed was about a mile and a quarter. When they had done this and performed certain rites they could take the salt. There were some rocks with sharp edges near the place and these were used in scraping aside the fine substance which covered the surface of the salt and was also below it. This substance was called "salt shoes" and did not have a pleasant taste. Mattias Hendricks said he remembered that his father, after breaking through this substance, said to the salt, "Please leave your shoes because you must ride on a burro." The sharp rocks were used also in scraping up the salt. After the men had finished gathering the salt they ran to the sea without stopping and returned to their camp.

[35] Frank Russell, op. cit., p. 94.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 place, at each of the four corners of the world, to use the Indian expression. The principal men seated themselves on the mats toward north and south; the two medicine-men sat down on the eastern mat, and the Keeper of the Smoke on the western.

The multitude surged forward and took their seats, on the ground, I among them, all forming an imposing [823] square that symbolized the four corners of the world, each of the four mats in that way remaining in the middle of a line of the square. Hardly had we seated ourselves before the vessels containing the wine were brought inside of the square from the lodge by four young men, each one carrying a vessel. This wine should have been carried in those large, beautiful, water-tight baskets of native workmanship, but, alas, there was only one of those, an indication of the declining days of the tribe. The remainder of the receptacles were replaced by three inappropriate looking buckets bought in the white man's store, more practical, to be sure, but infinitely more ugly than those superb baskets decorated with artistic designs. The young men went straight across the dancing place to the two medicine men in the east, who immediately set to work to bless the contents, driving out any evil spirit that the vessels might contain. This they accomplished by making slow strokes with the palms of the hands around the vessels from in front back toward themselves. They also sacrificed a little of the contents to the gods, dipping their hands into the liquor and throwing some of it about. It was done in a desultory fashion, showing, as one man explained to me, that they

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

few houses near it and naming their rancheria from the tall chimney. Five miles north is a rancheria called Sikulhímat ("where the water goes around." *Sikul*, round). Here, according to the Indians, the drainage of rain water flows toward the Gila River; south of that place it flows toward Mexico.

Horseshoe is the name of a once noted placer mine, the surface of which has been worked out. There are gold mines of a similar nature around the southern end of the Quijotoa Range. Judge Day has a store at Horseshoe and buys gold from the Indians, who still, during the winter, keep up the "dry-washing" process here, using for the purpose the machines that are common to the neighboring district of Altar, in Sonora. The Indians are even able to make the machines themselves. Judge Day is a man of intelligence and much common-sense, and, having lived here since 1893, was able to give reliable information about matters pertaining to the region. According to him the padres from San Xavier Mission, two hundred years ago, found the placer mines of Quijotoa. He showed me some nice nuggets of small sizes which he had lately bought. Five years ago the Indians found free gold in a piece of quartz which was worth one thousand six hundred dollars. After that eighty Papago and a few Yaqui Indians worked here for half a year, taking out in value between ten thousand and twelve thousand dollars, Judge Day buying most of the gold. The relations between the miners—all Indians—were cordial. When any of them had found a rich spot, he would tell it to the others, and next morn-

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

canny countrymen. Then we started back at a quick pace to our camp.

The name of this sacred place is Áalhihiani (*áli*, child; *bíbian*, cemetery). The enclosure's name is *ki*, house. It is renewed at irregular intervals and, according to my informant, sometimes every year. The present one had been made during the preceding winter. Those who make the enclosure have to come on foot to do the work. After the work is done there is a feast in the lodge, the whole night being spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks. The four children come down from the cemetery and take part, but only the medicine-men see them. In the morning the latter tell the people what they saw and what the children told them about rain and crops.

The faces of the children when about to be sacrificed were painted yellow with transverse black stripes, while the body was painted on the front, yellow, and on the back, black. A hole was dug in which the children were made to stand up, while the medicine-men sang. The flow of water which was stopped came from the sea, threatening to flood the whole world. The Papagoes worship the sea. In the subdivision of the tribe called Hohóla, tradition has it that a man once went down into a cavity in the ground and the sea kept him there for four years. His relatives, considering him dead, burned his house and ate his cattle. He turned up one day, asked them to make a house for him away from the rancheria, and, after having taken eight baths, one every four days, he began to live again as before.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

been found which might bear palæontological investigation. At Quitovac Mexicans as well as Indians have dug about a dozen small ditches, the longest twenty feet, into the calcareous embankment for the purpose of giving the water freer egress. Judging from these cuts, the deposit, or mesa, rests here on fine sand at a depth of from six to eight feet only from the surface.

The Indians have a fabulous tradition that where this whitish deposit now rests there was once a square lake, in the middle of which lived a big animal that ate people. What kind of animal it was is uncertain for, as my informant, the oldest man there, said, "those who knew are dead." It was able to smell people at a great distance, and when travellers came that way they never returned to their homes, for they were eaten by it. In this emergency the Papago finally went to the cave where Íitoi lived in the Black Mountain (Pinacate) and asked him to help them. Íitoi said he would come and on the road he made ready his weapons (*váuk*), which were of hard stone, dark in color, and very large. He made four of them, and they were sharp and thin, being a kind of dagger or javelin.

"If the animal kills me, you shall see red clouds tomorrow, but if I kill the animal, you shall see white clouds," Elder Brother said as he entered the fray. The animal swallowed him, but he cut out its heart and made his way out through its flesh, and it sank to the bottom. Next day white clouds appeared around the lake, one at each corner of the world, and the people understood that the animal had been killed. Ever since the mesa has remained white, like the clouds.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

The weapons mentioned in this story were probably made from obsidian which still serves as material for the making of arrow-points for ceremonial use. The obsidian is worked with a bone.

My camp was on the small plain on which the medicine lodge is situated, near an unusually well-grown mezquite tree, the shade of which is enjoyed by participants in the feasts that are given. In the evening spent here I could hear talking from the medicine lodge, but the old man, Miguel, who is in charge, complained much of the indifference of his countrymen, the younger generation never coming any more to the counsel house. The Indians here, in fact, are much spoiled by Mexicans and mescal brandy, and present to-day little of interest to the investigator. The same remark applies to the Indians of Sonoita, though in a lesser degree. A few, just a few, of the Mexicans exploit the Indians for their own purposes. It happens even that they ingratiate themselves by giving good advice—good for their own pockets—charging the confiding Indian for the advice. On the other hand, it must be said that the Papagoes of Sonora are in general treated with much more consideration than in Arizona. The Mexicans look upon them more as their equals, and the result is that the so-called civilized Indian is noticeably more polite in his manners in Sonora than in Arizona.

The great annual harvest feast for which Quitovac is famous, and to which people congregate from all parts of the Papagueria, is still kept up. It is performed in the month of August on a stretch of level ground half a mile

[of the origin of the whiteness of a mesa. -Analyst]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

handful of pinole, whereupon the salt is spread out to dry. The party next moves down to the sea; going into it up to their knees, each man carries corn-meal in his left hand and, watching for the waves, throws one pinch of it, caught with all fingers, on each of four successive waves. He bends forward when a high one comes lest it might throw him on his back, which is a bad thing as it would make him ill. They do not indulge in any sea bathing, for the ocean is too clean to allow them to soil it, they reverently say.

Toward sunset the salt is gathered in sacks, about one hundred pounds in each, two of these making a load. Great care is taken that no salt be spilled on the road as this would bring about some misfortune. Every one takes back with him a piece of silicious sponge which is found on the beach and which is kept carefully from year to year. This is considered a good remedy for external use. But the leader may take a bite of it, chew it, fill his mouth with water, and spray this through his lips on the men. Members of a salt expedition learn new songs on the trip and they say they dream them while asleep. Among the gifts of the sea may be a beautiful wife, luck in hunting, or swiftness in foot-races. After their return they must stay away from their houses from ten to sixteen days. A good deal of their time is spent in singing to the accompaniment of rasping sticks, and after having taken a bath every fourth day the man is able to join his wife again. According to accounts of fifty years ago* the Papagoes supplied Tucson

*See California Notes, Fourth Series, in *California Farmer*, 1863.

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, I-4 (no date) 1943
NU28 Papago NU28

women's inexperience in combining them showed in the garish inharmonies. Their dresses were riots of violent contrasts. Bright red, green, and yellow skirts banded at the bottom with other colors equally bright served to identify the wearers as far away as they could be seen. The Papago were astonished at the quantities of strong colors used. Bright colors warrant the use of the adverb "very" in describing them. In such cases the prefix *sih-* means not the darkness or lightness of the color, but its purity.

Certain color names can be modified to indicate that the color is very dark. Since the modifier is formed of the Papago word for black (*tcu'*KE), the translations of *stcu'kema sewe'*KI and *stcu'kema stceta'*KI, *stcu'kema spi'tema'*KI, and *stuc'kema smuhata'*KI are equivalent to blackish red, blackish green, blackish muddy color, and blackish greasy color.[2] Obviously a modifier meaning blackish cannot be used with the remaining color designations on the list, whites, blacks, and grays, or with yellows which become browns upon darkening, or with *ipahi* color which is never dark.

Conventional uses of specific colors on objects in the everyday life of the Papago are almost totally lacking. Red and black are the "right" colors for the painted designs on the feathers and shafts of arrows, but the basketry and pottery seem not to offer analogous examples. There is, however, one occasion upon which four specific colors are required, and upon which they have special significance. These four colors, symbolizing the directions, differentiate the rain clouds in the Papago Rain ceremony:

NORTH: *skokema'*KI *tceva'*KI
gray clouds
WEST: *swe'pe'*KI *tceva'*KI — EAST: *stotah tceva'*KI
red clouds — white clouds
SOUTH: *spitema'*KI *tceva'*KI
muddy clouds

The color names for the clouds in the east and west need no explanation. The names for the southern and northern clouds derive from the Papago origin story. At the time of the flood, the rubbish that was carried along stopped in the south (*Va'kolih*WE). The flood waters went down in the north (*tcupin*,

[2] Certain differences in the spellings of the same word should be noted. In the main, the orthography and spellings correspond to those followed in two earlier papers by Dolores: *Papago Verb Stems* (University of California, Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology 10, 1913), pp. 241–263; and *Papago Nominal Stems* (Same Series 20, 1923), pp. 19–31. Throughout the present notes green sometimes appears as *tceta'*KI, at other times as *stceta'*KI, red as *we'*KI and *swe*KI etc. The initial *s* is a formative element; the stem can be used with or without it.

Mountains and places with permanent names taken from colors use the stem without the *s*. East of Tucson is Little Yellow mountain, *ali oam to'o'*KE, a name merited by its appearance in the good years when poppies cover the slopes. Likewise Green mountain is *tceta'*KI *to'o'*KE and Green Well is *tceta'*KI *sahyuh*.

9: O'Neale & Dolores E, I-4 (no date) 1943
NU28 Papago NU28

from *tcupɪ*, to sink). The winds coming from the south were muddy color because they had picked up the dust from the original rubbish heap. Even today the annual wind storm, which always comes from the south, is sometimes spoken of as being *spi'tema'*KI.

Papago men of one village who are sent to invite people from outside villages to participate in the Rain ceremony paint their faces black to disguise themselves. The invitation is not proferred by one individual to another, but by a messenger who merely represents the village giving the ceremony. This messenger is called *wuhyo tcu'*KI, face black. The speaker in the Rain ceremony greets the invited guests upon their arrival. He is painted with the colors of the rain clouds, white, red, gray, and muddy color, and also carries a stick striped with the same colors. These four are used together only in connection with the Rain ceremony.

The use of white clay at a child's reception into the family after the purification ceremony has also special meaning. The desert Papago use white clay, but the Sonora Papago use a yellowish-white clay. Perhaps they lack the white variety, or possibly any light-colored clay is potent. The story of the first use of white clay as told among the desert Papago is as follows:

There was a place where water came out of the earth. The people did not know the reason, but the water ran out in increasing quantities. The situation grew dangerous. The people became more and more excited, but they did not know what to do. They sent out the medicine man. He said that the keeper of the sacred *vahcuk*[3] had not been true to his teaching. The people decided to make an offering, the greatest one possible. They decided to make an offering of the keeper's two children. A four-cornered hole was dug, and the children were put in it. The children were told to dance while the older people sang. The men started to sing. The children danced. Water ran into the hole. The children kept on dancing. They did not look at the water. They were drowned. When the water went down, a layer of white clay remained. It was said to be the children. It was said to be good because the children were good and obeyed instructions. To this day the child that is given a taste of white clay will be good and obedient like the two sacrificed children.

The paragraphs to follow present brief descriptions of each of the colors to which a designation has been given. The order follows that given in the chart.

*White. cahstoh*A, almost white; *toh*A, white; *sihstoh*A, very white. The first and last colors are to be considered in their relation to the standard. *toh*A implies the lack of color; *cahstoh*A describes pale tints of any color even those that are more than a little tinged with color. It seems to mean whitish or off-white, color terms comparable to our blue-white, cream-white, oyster-white, and the like.

[3] *vahcuk*, a long rectangular basket, not coiled, with a cover. In this are kept sacred objects such as Apache scalps, crystal rocks, and sticks tipped with down.

14: Kroeber B-4 (no date) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

539 he thought this must be the place where his father lived, though his father was not there. Every morning after that, he used to go out; and he would see the waving of heat over at one side. Because his mother had told him that that was the strength of his father, and beyond that he could find his father, he used to follow the thing around, but never found his father. But because he always saw this thing about the place, he thought his father must be there, and staid there every night.

Where this mountain is, there is a village, — about five miles away from where the boy lived. The story was told in this village that something had been taking away the children. In time it was found out that something that lived up in the mountain came down at night and took the children away. That was the way the boy was living. He was a cannibal. He lived on human flesh. Exaggerated stories were told, to the effect that in the cave was a big hole in which the children were placed by this thing, and mashed. The people finally decided to find out what this was that was carrying away the children. So they called up the medicine-men. They sang four nights. On the fourth night, in the evening, they said that this thing, whatever it was, that was taking away their children, was nothing like an animal that did not understand, but it was one of their own people, and could be, if they wished, brought down to the village. So they sent somebody there to bring him down. A young man was sent, with instructions to tell this person that they were having a good time, and he, being important, was asked to come and take part and give them some of his songs, this being the custom when visitors came from other villages.

So, when they brought him down that night, they gave him something to smoke to make him sleep. As the pipe was passed from one to another of the old people, they only pretended to smoke it; but when it came to him, he really smoked, not knowing what it was. So he fell asleep in this gathering, and they picked him up and carried him back to the cave. They piled up wood in the four turns, and set it on fire. When this began to burn, he woke up. He ran from one side of the cave to the other, and jumped up and bumped his head against the top. He shook the cave so hard, that they were afraid he would come out; and they called on the "Older-Brother" (Great Spirit) to help them. So Older-Brother came and put his foot on top of the cave, and held it down until the monster died. The footprint of
● [823] Older-Brother is still said to be seen on the top of the cave, and there is a crack in the cave supposed to have been made at that time.

STORY OF THE WIND AND RAIN

In a village where there were a great many people who had power to do wonderful things, there lived a certain wise man. This man was